

## THE POPULAR REACTION TO GERMAN DRAMA IN ENGLAND AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*by Douglas Milburn, Jr.*

The introduction of German plays into the English theater in the last decade of the eighteenth century created one of the more intense examples of cultural shock, producing in the audiences and the critics reactions which ranged from great enthusiasm to horrified rejection.<sup>1</sup> While only four German plays had been performed in England before 1798,<sup>2</sup> no less than fifteen appeared on London stages in the two theatrical seasons, 1798-1799 and 1799-1800. Perhaps the strangest aspect of this sudden intense interest is the fact that almost all of the plays were by one author, August von Kotzebue, now virtually forgotten.<sup>3</sup>

Much has been made of the negative reaction to German drama which occurred shortly after the peak of Kotzebue's popularity. It has become traditional to explain the reaction by pointing out that, because of the sparks flying across the Channel from the revolutionary inferno in France, this was in England a highly conservative period, socially, artistically, and politically. Thus, according to the traditional analysis of the reaction to German drama, it follows that the "liberal" and "immoral" plays of Kotzebue, with their topics of adultery and incest and their anticlerical and antislavery overtones, were naturally strongly objected to and eventually driven from the country. Kotzebue has been further condemned because the plays of his more talented German contemporaries, Goethe and Schiller, were supposedly tainted through guilt by association, the final result being the disappearance of German drama altogether from England for some decades. This argument, which has been presented with only slight variations a number of times,<sup>4</sup> rests on four points which closer examination reveals to be partly insubstantial and partly erroneous. 1) While it is true that the

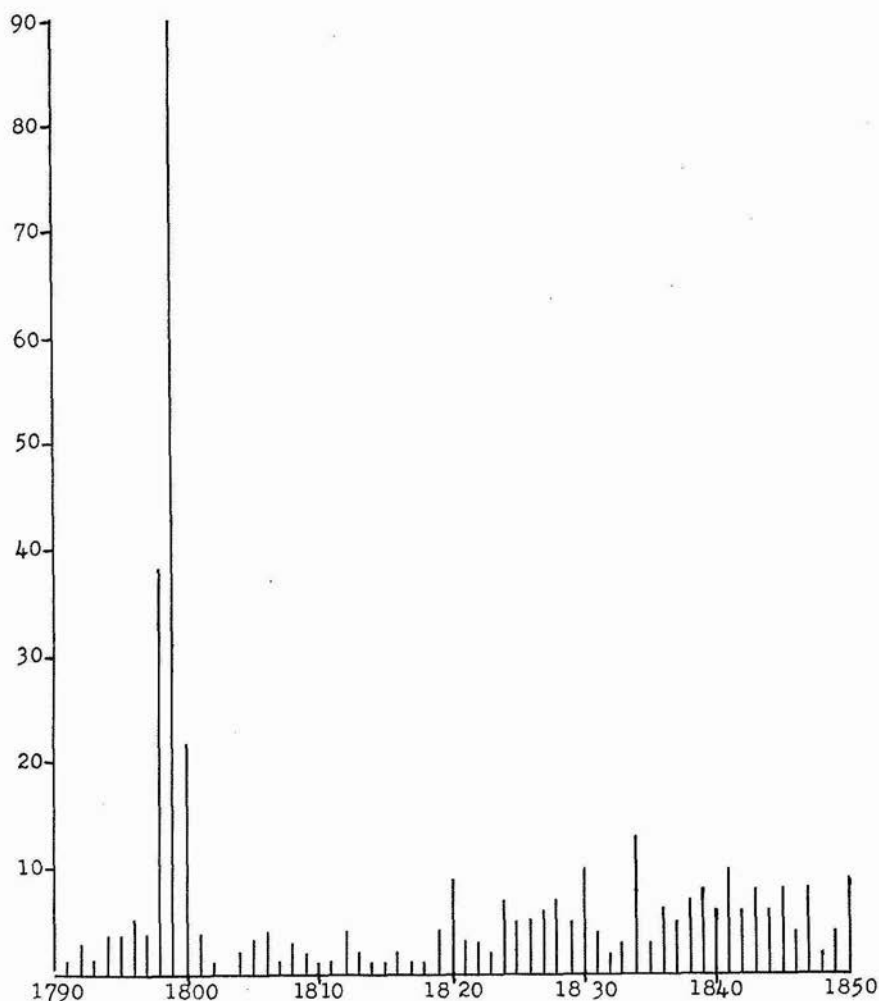
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popularity of German plays declined abruptly among the reading public in 1800 and after, the plays of Kotzebue continued to be performed well into the new century. 2) Although certain of Kotzebue's plays did contain mildly "liberal" elements, Kotzebue was in 1799 through Richard Sheridan's resoundingly successful *Pizarro* (an adaptation of *Die Spanier in Peru*) placed squarely on the side of the patriotic, conservative critics and audiences, a fact which surely to a large extent counterbalanced the "immorality" of his other plays. 3) While it is true that many of Kotzebue's plays were attacked, the main objection raised in these attacks was frequently to drama and theater generally. Such attacks are of course a not unusual pastime for critics in a reactionary period; the newly introduced German plays merely provided a convenient target. It is furthermore not surprising that in such a period the level of xenophobia was quite high, so that a critic did not necessarily feel constrained to confine his attacks on German drama to dramatic questions but could, in what has since come to be known generically as tabloid style, sally forth into the deeper questions of the iniquities of the German soul. 4) The cause-effect chronology used is simply inaccurate.

It is easy enough to understand how the argument outlined above has gained such wide acceptance among scholars who too often forget that plays are actually performed and thus fail to distinguish between the booksellers' world and that of the living theater. Compared with the large number of editions and performances of German plays in 1798 and 1799, the small number of editions and *first* performances following 1800 could lead one to assume that a large-scale negative reaction had occurred. But if one looks again at the evidence one finds that the reaction was much less intense than one might at first suppose.

In the accompanying graphs (pp. 151 and 153) I have sketched the number of editions of German plays and the number of performances of German plays in England over a period of six decades in order to provide a rough visual representation of the fluctuation in popularity. To deal with the printed plays first (and only briefly, since I have already yielded the point that there was a negative reaction in printed drama): Graph I shows that the reaction was actually a return to the earlier level of interest. The reader will also note that after German drama had been introduced into England there was never a sustained loss of interest in the genre. In fact, it is perhaps surprising that the number of editions in the early part of the nineteenth century was not smaller, since



Graph I. Editions of German Plays. (Compiled from B. Q. Morgan, *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in England*, 2nd ed. [Stanford, 1938]; Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama*, Vols. III and IV [Cambridge, 1952 and 1955]; and the Axson Collection of English Plays in the Fondren Library of Rice University.)

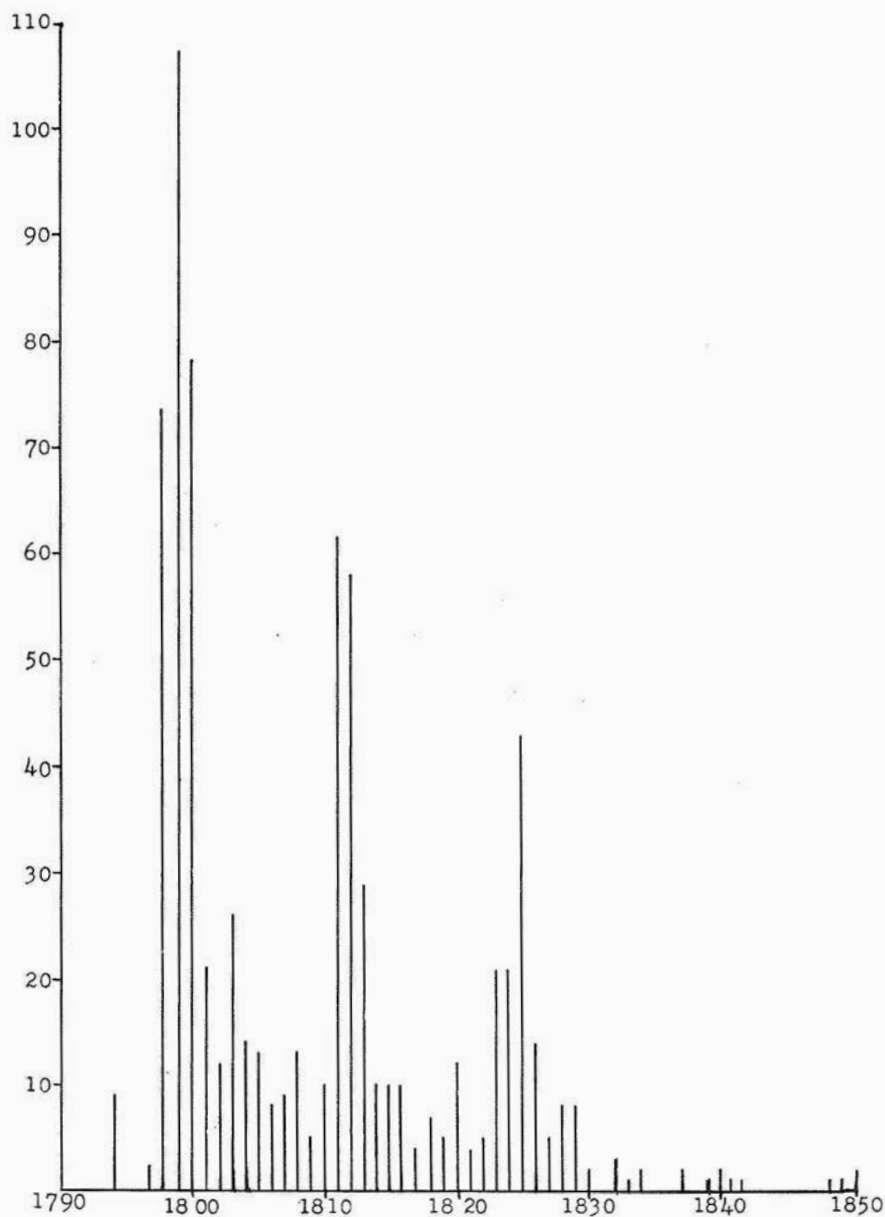
almost all the major German plays and many minor works as well had already been translated by that time.

Concerning performed drama, at no time in English theatrical history, with one exception, has there been far-reaching interest in German plays. The exception is the period between 1798 and 1800. It can easily be shown that the abnormally high level of interest in that period (see Graph II, p. 153) was due largely to *Pizarro* and, to a lesser extent, to *The Stranger*, another adaptation by Sheridan, from Kotzebue's sentimental play of adultery and reconciliation, *Menschenhaß und Reue*.

In *Pizarro* Sheridan created what is basically a political spectacle, much changed from the dilute, Rousseauesque sentimentality of Kotzebue's *Die Spanier in Peru*.<sup>5</sup> In the German version, whatever dramatic tension is present springs from the contrast between the brutal acts of the "Christian," "civilized" Spaniards and the simple, natural piety and gentleness of the pagan and uncivilized Peruvians. In Sheridan's *Pizarro* (read "Napoleon") the Peruvians are still called Peruvians, but it is evident that they are in fact Englishmen, while the Spaniards are but poorly disguised Frenchmen. Thus the play becomes an allegory of the precarious relations between France and England at that time. Since 1797 the insular security of the English had been threatened by more or less clearly stated plans on the part of the French to invade England. The frantic, emotional responses to this threat reached their peak in the spring of 1798, subsiding only slightly when Napoleon turned his attention to Italy and Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Until peace was finally achieved in 1815, the spectre of French military power set the conservative, at times reactionary, tone of English life. While other German dramatists, notably Goethe and Schiller, suffered from this conservatism in England, Kotzebue was by means of Sheridan's *Pizarro* placed firmly on the side of that conservatism.

Sheridan's major structural change in the play lay in his alteration of the denouement. Kotzebue ended with the heroic death of the innocent Peruvian leader, Rolla, at the hands of the Spaniards. Sheridan added a scene in which Pizarro (Napoleon) is killed in revenge for Rolla's death. The viewers' sympathy for the noble Rolla is thus transmuted into elation over the defeat of the tyrant.

By any standard *Pizarro* was a hit. Following the premiere on May 24, 1799, it was performed sixty-seven times in the next two seasons at Drury Lane and then remained a part of the repertory for some thirty-five years. As late as 1832, *Pizarro* opened the Covent Garden season, with Kean playing Rolla. In the thirty-odd



Graph II. Performances of German Plays. (Compiled from the daily theatrical listings of the *London Times*.)

years since the premiere at Drury Lane the play had become so integral a part of the English repertory that the reviewer of Kean's performance in 1832 made no mention whatever of the origin of the play; furthermore, his lengthy comments were written in such a way that it is apparent he took for granted every reader's familiarity with plot and characters (London *Times*, October 8, 1832). Or as another example, a newspaper advertisement for a performance in 1830 referred to *Pizarro* as "the grand national drama" (London *Times*, October 11, 1830).

Sheridan's other major Kotzebue adaptation, *The Stranger*, endured even longer. This play, much closer to the German version than *Pizarro* is to its parent, is a harmless little period piece with a very mildly sensational plot. An adulterous wife, lamenting her sins, goes to live as a governess on a secluded estate where she soon develops a fine reputation because of the many good deeds she performs for the needy. Unknown to her, the misanthrope who inhabits a cottage on a remote corner of the estate is her husband who, embittered by her treachery, has withdrawn from society. He too is shown to have a warm and generous heart. A reconciliation is effected when the couple is brought together again in the presence of their two small children. True, there was some adverse commentary concerning this "favorable" treatment of adultery, but the play pleased the first Drury Lane audience in March 1798, immensely and was frequently performed for some half a century thereafter. For example, on January 18, 1849, it was presented at Windsor Castle with Kean in the title role, as one of a series of five evenings of dramatic entertainment by royal command. Shortly afterward the production moved to the Haymarket where, according to one account, it had the same lachrymose effect on the nineteenth-century audience which the original presentation had on the audience of 1798.<sup>7</sup>

Altogether no less than seven of Kotzebue's plays were accepted into English repertory lists around 1800. In fact, of the total of fifteen German plays which were performed for more than one season in this first half-century of German drama in England, eleven were by Kotzebue. The extent of his penetration of the English repertory becomes especially clear when one glances at the following summary of performances (see Table 1).

Seven plays, all by Kotzebue, recur frequently. They are abbreviated thus:

A — *Armut und Edelsinn (Sighs)*

E — *Eduard in Schottland (The Wanderer)*

- K — *Das Kind der Liebe* (Lovers' Vows)  
 M — *Menschenhaß und Reue* (The Stranger)  
 S — *Die Spanier in Peru* (Pizarro)  
 V — *Die Versöhnung* (The Birthday)  
 W — *Der Wildfang* (Of Age Tomorrow)

The other plays, which recur less frequently but which were performed more than one season, are listed thus:

- a — *Die Witwe und das Reitpferd* (The Widow and the Riding-Horse), Kotzebue  
 b — *La Peyrouse* (Perouse; or, The Desolate Island), Kotzebue  
 c — *Die Räuber* (The Red-Cross Knights), Schiller  
 d — *Die Sonnenjungfrau* (The Virgin of the Sun), Kotzebue  
 e — *Blind geladen* (How to Die for Love), Kotzebue  
 f — *Maria Stuart* (Mary Stuart), Schiller  
 g — *Faust I* (Faustus), Goethe  
 h — *Wilhelm Tell* (William Tell), Schiller

TABLE 1

GERMAN PLAYS IN THE ENGLISH REPERTORY: 1799-1850<sup>a</sup>

	Drury Lane	Covent Garden	Haymarket
1799	M, S	K, V, a	
1800	M, S	K, M, V	A, V
1801	M, S	K, M, V, b	A, K, V, c
1802	K, M, S, W	M	A, K
1803	K, M, S	M, S, a	A, K, M, W
1804	K, M, S, W	K, S	M, S
1805	K, W	K, M, S	V
1806	K, S	S, V	A, E
1807	S	E, S	M, S
1808	M	K, M, S	A, M, S
1809	M, W		M, S
1810	M	S, W	K, S
1811	M, W	M, S, V	K, V, W
1812	V	S, d	V
1813		M, S	
1814	V	M, S, d	V
1815	K, V, W	M, S	
1816	K	M, S	e
1817		M, S	
1818	M, S	M, S	
1819		S, f	M
1820	S	M, S	
1821	S	M, S	
1822	M, S	M	M
1823	M, S	M, S	
1824	S	M, S	W
1825	S, g	S, W	S, W
1826	M, S	M	
1827	K, S, h	M	
1828	K, M, S		
1829	M, S	E	
1830		M	
1832	M	S	
1833	S		
1834	M	S	
1837	S		
1849			M



Thus, to speak of the disappearance of German drama from England is, in view of this record, clearly erroneous. To blame the "reaction" on the very playwright who was able to penetrate the repertory to such an extent is equally false. The audiences still came to see Kotzebue and were probably more than a little attracted by the tinge of immorality in his plays which is supposed to have been responsible for the negative reaction to German drama.

It seems that critics, in discussing the reaction, have perhaps been somewhat remiss in the exercise of their critical faculties. Those who have used the argument summarized at the outset have based their remarks not only on the smaller number of editions appearing after 1800 but also on the many utterances of critics who spoke in anger against the subversive elements in German drama, while night after night the audiences filled the theaters to see these plays which pleased them. Nothing better shows just how unrepresentative the attitudes of those reviewers were than the continuing success of certain of the plays in the theaters. Yet it is those attitudes which have been repeatedly cited as evidence for a negative reaction on the part of the English theater-going public.

Clearly, there was a decline in interest from the peak at the end of the century, as may be seen in the lack of new productions and new translations. While the decline may be partially explained by the fact that the novelty of German drama was wearing thin, the more profound effects of the unstable international political situation must not be underestimated. It was after all the period of the Napoleonic Wars. Art, in all its forms, is in any period exposed to three external foes (borrowing Irwin Edman's terminology<sup>9</sup>). The Moral Man objects to the undermining uncertainty resulting from artistic explorations of the darker realms of the soul. The Political Man objects to that which contradicts his own beliefs about the proper social order. And the Practical Man objects to the wasteful exploitation of time and expenditure of effort in pursuit of the intangible. If a given period is relatively tranquil and stable, these voices are ignored in favor of more rational opinions. In times of national stress, when a way of life appears threatened (as was the case in England around 1800), liberal elements in all phases of life are perforce suppressed in the interest of national survival. In such times Art, the unnecessary, the incomprehensible, and hence the dangerous, is especially subject to attack.

After the first invigorating air from the awakened France of 1789 was replaced by the stench of the Terror and the blustery winds of ambitious imperialism, the political sentiment in England



became ever more conservative. As fate would have it, the introduction of German drama into England coincided with this rise in conservatism. Certain of the plays, such as *Die Räuber*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, and *Stella*, with their political and moral radicalism offered an inviting target for the conservative critics.

The chronology of this critical reaction has, as mentioned above, been misrepresented. In the standard argument summarized at the beginning, we are given this sequence of events: A few German plays were introduced before 1798 with little success; from 1798 to 1800 many plays were immensely popular; the critics, aghast at this situation, suddenly took up their pens to do what they could to enlighten their countrymen concerning the dangerous sentiments expressed in these foreign plays. If we go back and examine the chronology of harsh critical comment we find that the critical reaction had begun well before the peak of popularity was reached in 1799. For example, the most intelligent attack on German drama, the satirical play, *The Rovers*, was published in June of 1798.<sup>10</sup> In the same month a year later *Pizarro* was playing every night at Drury Lane while Covent Garden and the Haymarket were offering various other German plays.<sup>11</sup> It seems likely that *The Rovers*, which is more humorous and much less irrational than other attacks, may have actually served to popularize German drama rather than destroy it, as has been suggested (see works cited in note 1). In fact, a stage version was later brought out, *The Quadrupeds of Quedlinburgh; or, The Rovers of Weimar*, which played at the Haymarket in 1811, which is more than a decade after the presumed death of German drama in England. An ironic note: *The Quadrupeds* was presented as an afterpiece on the same program with Kotzebue's *The Birthday*.<sup>12</sup> As will be shown below, the really virulent attacks did not appear until some years after the period of intense interest around 1800.

The fact that there was a critical reaction which was only partially effective is a crucial point in the history of German drama in England, in that it exposes the degree of national incompatibility of the German and English elites and also casts in perspective the converse, namely the success among the people of less "important" but more accessible German drama. While the critics attacked Goethe and Schiller, the audiences applauded Kotzebue, some of whose works entered the English theater with much the same success as the fairy tales of the Grimms later entered English home libraries. The English public sampled all German drama, accepted what it liked, and ignored or forgot what it disliked. The critics,

being by their very nature vocal, felt constrained to pass judgment, which they did.

For convenience we may divide the critics into four groups: 1) antidrama; 2) anti-German; 3) anti-German-drama; 4) pro-German. Particularly significant is the first group, yet it has been largely overlooked in previous considerations of German drama in England.

The theater, in England and elsewhere, has a long tradition of confrontations with attempted suppression and censorship. The Moral Man, the Political Man, the Practical Man, all find frightening, subversive, and wasteful elements set free in the darkened arena of the theater. Given this tradition, the widespread reaction to theatrical presentations in England during the extended crisis of the Napoleonic Wars is hardly surprising. The would-be censors did not object to all drama, but only to that drama which did not satisfy their own particular, one-sided view of what might be permissible in the theater. In effect, they thus rejected and censured ninety-nine percent of the plays performed, English and German.

This is not to say there was agreement among the critics concerning what was good and what was not good for the country. On the one hand we may find a sweeping denunciation such as this: "The natural tendency of all evil things is from bad to worse. . . . It is readily conceded . . . that evil is not essential to mere dramatic presentation, but it is essential to a Theatre. . . . The recent introduction of the German Drama may be considered as a phenomenon in the world of dissipation. The writings of Congreve and Dryden are absolutely pure, when compared with the vile disgusting offspring of the profligate Kotzebue. . . ." <sup>13</sup> On the other hand we find another critic citing *The Stranger* as a play rich in moral improvement. This same critic also finds religious edification in *The Robbers*, <sup>14</sup> while yet another attacks the daring impiety of the play. <sup>15</sup> The attitude behind such remarks seems to be this: Since the theater is evil, we must seek out the most evil part; that obviously is the part dominated by the German plays.

Examples of opposition to German drama specifically abound and are singularly uninspired (except for *The Rovers*, mentioned above). Herewith just a few examples so that the reader may gain an impression of the tone of the attacks. On *The Stranger*: "The moral of this play is unquestionably of dubious value; we fear that it may tend to make adultery appear less odious than it ought—there is no dramatic justice" (*Monthly Mirror*, V [1798], 232 f.). From a review of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*: "Upon the

whole, we have never met with, even in German drama, more extravagance, or more insipidity . . ." (*British Critic*, XVII [1801], 314). Concerning Lessing's last play: "It is tedious beyond endurance. . . . Those who have suffered from the want of sleep may receive relief by perusing 'Nathan the Wise' before they retire to bed" (*Poetical Register*, V [1805], 501). On *Stella*: "What more destructive to the peace of society, what more adapted to burst asunder every solemn tie, can be presented to the world, we do not know" (*British Critic*, XII [1798], 424-425). On *Wallenstein*: "'May the wretch,' said Horace, 'who shall murder his aged father, eat garlic for his punishment!'—'May the critic,' we may justly exclaim, 'for his highest offenses, be doomed to review a German historical play!'" (*British Critic*, XVIII [1801], 542).

A more dangerous group was the one whose members found release in attacks on all things German. Here we enter an area far removed from the realm of art. Two examples of the sentiments expressed will illustrate the degree of frantic and frightened irrationality displayed by this group. A series of letters from an anonymous Englishman living in Germany, published in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, is a *tour de force*. After dismissing Kant as a sophist and concluding that the German language is barbaric, the writer reviews in an almost gossipy fashion the personal qualities of the better known German writers. Wieland and Kotzebue lead lives which were judged to be "unobjectionable" (sic). However, "the equally renowned author of Werter is avowedly a man of pleasure and possesses not a single grain of morality in his composition. The only system of morality which he professes, is private convenience. . . . Against the private character of the author of *The Robbers* I have heard nothing particular. His temper is said to be very unequal, and his moral principles somewhat too modish."<sup>10</sup> But this is still weak stuff when compared with the immoderation of Hannah More. An exemplary member of the anti-drama group, the anti-German-drama group, and the anti-German group, she gives the breath of life to age-old prejudices. Specifically attacking German drama, she rapidly broadens her range as she speaks of

. . . those swarms of publications now daily issuing from the banks of the Danube, which, like their ravaging predecessors of the darker ages, though with far other and more fatal arms, are over-running civilized society. Those readers, whose purer taste has been formed on the correct models of the old classical school, see with indignation and astonishment the Huns and Vandals once more overpowering the

Greeks and Romans. They too behold our minds, with a retrograde but rapid motion, hurried back to the reign of "chaos and old night", by distorted and unprincipled compositions, which in spite of strong flashes of genius, unite the taste of the Goths with the morals of Bagshot.<sup>17</sup>

German drama, Mrs. More says, is not the work of divinely inspired genius but of infernally inspired barbarians. For the argument from prejudice and fear there is no adequate reply just as there is no adequate explanation. One cannot reply on the basis of the esthetic striving of the German dramatists; one cannot speak of the humanitarian ideals of the *Goethezeit*; one cannot say, "Ah, if there had only been an intermediary of Carlyle's stature to clarify matters," because Mrs. More is arguing in a framework to which reasoned response has no access.

For that matter, few of Mrs. More's contemporaries developed anything approaching a reasoned and sympathetic response to German drama.<sup>18</sup> Virtually the only voice raised at the time in defense of German drama was that of the young Crabb Robinson, who was then living in Germany. In 1802, the *Monthly Register* published a series of letters from him, the first of which began thus:

*You know nothing about German literature.* Kotzebue's and Iffland's plays and Lafontaine's novels are not German literature; though popular German works, they are not considered as classical here. . . . It is really distressing to those who, like me, look on the German literature and philosophy as the spring whence we must take new draughts of science and taste, to behold that, in being imported they are polluted by coming through impure channels. . . . You have, it seems, a "German Theatre" [Benjamin Thompson's collection in six volumes, London, 1800-1801]. I heard it remarked—"It will be curious to see how long the translator proceeds before he, by good luck, stumbles on one of our good pieces." After all, it is not so much to be regretted that such inferior works should be translated, which at least answer their end, as it would be, were the real masterpieces of German literature delivered us by the same hands.<sup>19</sup>

Robinson did not know that those masterpieces had already been translated, and ignored.

Otherwise there is little evidence of activity on the part of the voices of reason for some years after the turn of the century. Peace and a new generation farther removed from the divisive upheavals after 1789 had to appear before the English could begin to achieve a more balanced evaluation of German drama.

## NOTES

1. The more detailed investigations of the introduction of German drama into England are those of F. W. Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 1926); Vera Stockley, *German Literature as Known in England, 1750-1830* (London, 1929); B. Q. Morgan and A. R. Hohlfeld, *German Literature in British Magazines, 1750-1850* (Madison, 1949), pp. 44 ff.; and Theodore Grieder, "The German Drama in England, 1790-1800," *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research*, III (1964), 39-51. See also my unpublished dissertation (Rice, 1964), "German Drama in England, 1750-1850," on the results of which this article is partly based.

2. Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* played eleven times at the Haymarket in 1786 under the title, *The Disbanded Officer*; or, *The Baroness of Bruchsal*; Brandes' *Der Gasthof* thirteen times at Covent Garden in 1790 with the title, *The German Hotel*; Gemmingen-Hornberg's *Der deutsche Hausvater* six times at Covent Garden in 1794 as *Love's Frailties*; and Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* three times at Drury Lane also in 1794 under the original title.

3. Author of more than 200 plays, Kotzebue was easily the most popular playwright in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. As an example, no less than 116 of his plays were presented more than 1700 times in Mannheim alone between 1788 and 1808 (Max Martersteig, *Das deutsche Theater im 19. Jahrhundert* [Leipzig, 1904], p. 120). For more than a century it was fashionable to revile him as a defiler of the international reputation of Goethean theater (see, for example, Walter Sellier's emotional attack, *Kotzebue in England* [Leipzig, 1901]); only recently has a more reasoned evaluation begun to emerge which puts him in proper perspective as a prolific, second-rate dramatist with an uncanny feel for his audience's likes and dislikes (see, for example, Robert L. Kahn, "Kotzebue's Treatment of Social Problems," *Studies in Philology*, LXIX [1952], 631-642).

4. By the following (cited in note 1): Stokoe, p. 49; Stockley, pp. 188-189; Morgan and Hohlfeld, pp. 44 ff.; and, especially, Grieder.

5. See Leopold Bahlsen, *Kotzebue und Sheridan* (Berlin, 1889); and Myron Matlaw, "English Versions of *Die Spanier in Peru*," *Modern Language Quarterly*, XVI (1955), 63-67. On M. G. Lewis' strange, behind-the-scenes role as intermediary in the process of getting the play into English, see Karl S. Guthke, *Englische Vorromantik und deutscher Sturm und rang* ("Palaestra," Vol. 223 [Göttingen, 1958]).

6. Thomas Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges* (London, 1876), pp. 508, 516 ff., offers some entertaining examples of the various forms in which the hysteria expressed itself.

7. *The Court Theatre, and Royal Dramatic Record*, ed. John K. Chapman (London, n.d.), p. 71.

8. Drawn from the daily theatrical listings of the *London Times*, 1799-1850.

9. *Arts and the Man* (New York, 1939).

10. *Anti-Jacobin*, June 4 and June 11, 1798.

11. All by Kotzebue, except the Haymarket's lamentable version of Schiller's *Die Räuber*; see Table 1.

12. John Genest, *Some Account of the English Theatre, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (Bath, 1832), VIII, 248-249.

13. John Styles, *An Essay on the Character and Influence of the Stage on Morals and Happiness*, 2nd ed. (London, 1807), pp. 46-48.

14. James Plumptre, *Four Discourses on Subjects Relating to the Amusement of the Stage* (Cambridge, 1809), pp. 240-249, and 154.

15. *Monthly Mirror*, VIII (1799), 173-174.

16. *Anti-Jacobin Review*, V (1800), 571-572.

17. Hannah More, *Works* (London, 1818), VIII, 41. Other similar attacks are those of William Preston, "Reflections on the Peculiarities of Style and Manner in the Late German Writers, Whose Works Have Appeared in England, and on the Tendency of Their Productions," *Edinburgh Magazine*, 2nd Series, XX (1802), 353 ff., 406 ff., XXI (1802), 9 ff., 89 ff.; and Juvenis, *Anti-Jacobin Review*, VII (1800), 515 ff.

18. For a survey of the English poets' responses see F. W. Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period*, as cited in note 1 above.

19. *Monthly Register*, I (1802), 397-398. Robinson, who was acquainted with the leading literary figures of both countries, devoted considerable effort to establishing lines of communication between them. The futility of his attempts is best described by Eudo C. Mason, *Die deutsche und englische Romantik* (Göttingen, 1959), pp. 68 ff.